



College of Arts, Celtic Studies and Social Sciences

# **Unit 8:**

*The Treaty and the Irish Civil War December 1921-May 1923* 

> *Transition Year Project Book Part 1*

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# **Transition Year Unit: The Treaty and the Irish Civil War**

In this unit you will explore the causes, personalities and key moments of the Irish Civil War. You are invited to become experts on the three phases of the conflict through an examination of primary source material and original maps from the *Atlas of the Irish Revolution*. The maps provide local and national perspectives on the conflict and allow you to consider how their own county was involved in, or affected by the Civil War.

Working in groups, you will use your expert knowledge to produce a film based on the Irish Civil War. This may be in the form of a documentary, dramatic scenes or a combination of both and will be presented during a Transition Year film festival.

Even if you choose not to take the subject for Leaving Cert, an appreciation for History will stay with you forever and has benefits far beyond the realms of secondary school. You will also learn transferable skills, which you can apply to your other subjects. These include, critical thinking skills, research and presentation skills. For those of you who continue History after TY, it will offer a tremendous foundation in more advanced project work, document analysis and writing skills.

# Assessment:

**Continuous Assessment (10%)** You will be awarded a mark for overall participation in the module. That is why you should remain focused, organised and engage with the group and individual tasks.

**The Group Project (60%)** Remember, you must meet the deadline for your element of the exhibition and marks will be awarded for effort, imagination and originality as well as for the quality of your work.

**Presentation & Self Assessment: (30%)** Your input into the project will be assessed verbally by your teacher on the day of the exhibition after which you complete a self assessment sheet.

# FILMING THE IRISH CIVIL WAR: PROJECT BRIEF

For a long time, the Irish Civil War was not taught in schools or even spoken about by the veterans of the conflict. It was too close, too painful and too divisive. For many people the details of the conflict remain unclear because fact mixed with memory and folklore to produce a confused version of the past.

RTE has commissioned a new film based on the Civil War to educate the public about the conflict. The broadcaster has provided the following brief:



The film may be in the form of a *documentary or a drama* with a *maximum of 3 scenes* It may focus on the Civil War as a whole *or* an event/personality/battle/artefact/ painting or group associated with the Civil War

The film must ...

- o be informative as well as entertaining
- o include accurate factual detail based on research
- o examine the topic from more than one perspective (i.e Treaty/ Anti-Treaty)
- o capture the atmosphere of the conflict
- *o* give a sense of how the conflict *affected* the combatants and/or the ordinary people

### The planning Process:

*Production Group Meeting 1.* In groups of not more than eight, students should:

- Use the Timeline Poster in this Project Pack to discuss what you already know about the Irish Civil War
- Make suggestions about possible subjects for your film
- Decide if the film will be in the form of a documentary or three-scene drama
- Identify the individual strengths of each group member and decide who will take on the roles outlined in the *Cast and Crew Form* on the next page
- Group members conduct individual research into the Civil War and prepare to come to the next production meeting with proposals for the script

#### Production Group Meeting 2. (After approximately two weeks of class)

- The production groups reassemble. With the director as chairperson, the group should present ideas and vote on a topic for the documentary or a storyline for the drama
- Before the class concludes, complete the Project Proposal Form and submit it to the teacher

<image/> <section-header><text></text></section-header>	While all members of the group will conduct research, you will also take on individual roles in the production process. onsider your individual skills and interests and, after the first production meeting, complete this form and submit it to your teacher.         DRAMA       DOCUMENTARY
TECHNICAL TEAM	
Camera Operator	Film Editor
WRITING TEAM	
Script Writer	Primary Researcher
DRAMA	DOCUMENTARY
Actor 1:	Presenter / Interviewer
Actor 2:	Interviewee 1: Local Historian
Actor 3:	Interviewee 2: Character of your Choice

с.Г

	Т	o be subm	tted to your teacher after the topic for the film has been o	chosen
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elate	s to what	aspect of	the Civil War:	
ne 3	main rea	sons why v	<i>v</i> e chose this topic are: :	
)				
2)				
3)				
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of \_\_\_\_\_ assigned by the teacher.

# Signed:

Group Member	Role
Group Member:	- Role
Group Member :	Role
Group Member :	Role
Group Member :	Role
Group Member :	Role
Group Member :	Role

# CHARACTER PROFILE

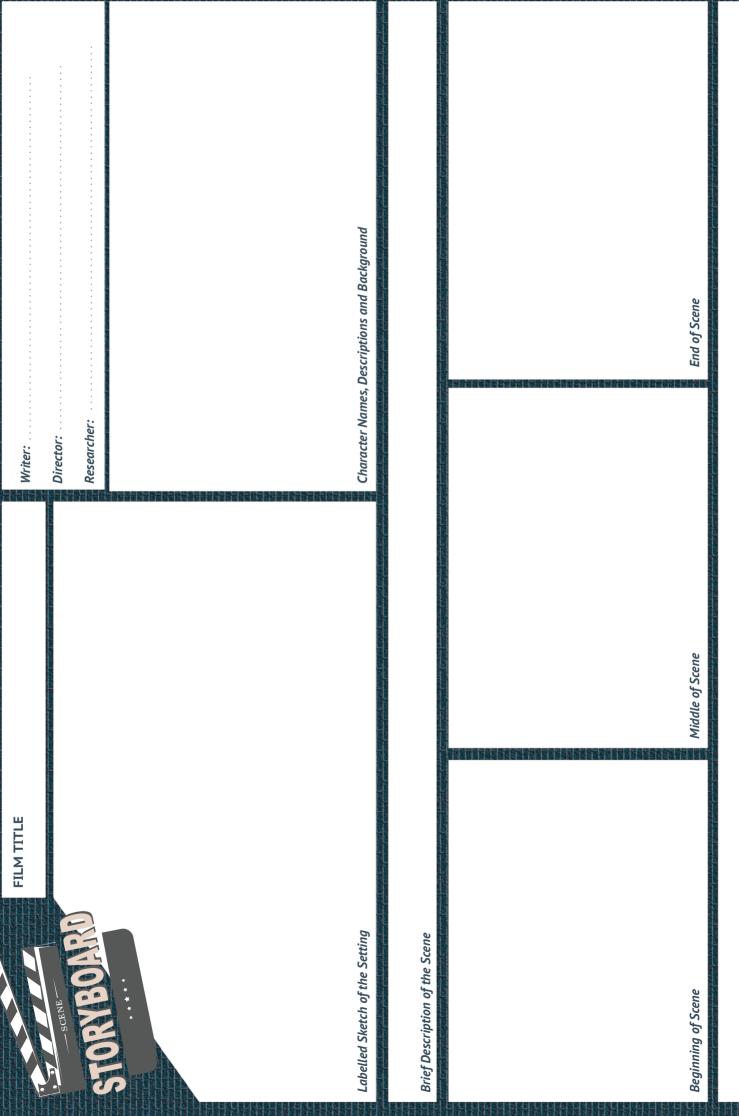


Name of Character	Pro-Treaty Anti-Treaty
Gender	
	Distinguishing Physical or Personality Traits:
COSTUME	Main reasons for opposing/ supporting the Treaty
COSTUME	

Relevant Background Information

Description of this character's part in the storyline

e.g. participation in the 1916 Rising and/or War of Independence, role as a plenipotentiary, imprisonment, political or personal connections to the struggle for independence.



Mood and Atmosphere of Scene

# Peer Assessment: The Civil War on Film

⊛ 🏵

		Drama Documentary	Colour
Evaluation Criteria	Comment		Mark
Quality of Script			
Quality of Production			
Evidence of Research			
Clarity of Information			
Film Title:	[	Dura ina a	Colour
		Drama Documentary	Black & White
		Documentary	
Evaluation Criteria Quality of Script	Comment		Mark
Quality of Production			
Evidence of Research			
			/
Clarity of Information			
Film Title:	[	Drama	Colour
Director's Name:	[	Documentary	Black & White
Evaluation Criteria	Comment		Mark
Quality of Script			
			/
Quality of Production			
Quality of Production Evidence of Research			 / /
Evidence of Research			
Evidence of Research Clarity of Information		Drama	<pre>// // // // // // // // // // // // //</pre>
Evidence of Research Clarity of Information Film Title:		Drama Documentary	
Evidence of Research Clarity of Information Film Title:			<pre>// // // Colour</pre>
Evidence of Research Clarity of Information Film Title: Director's Name:	[		/
Evidence of Research Clarity of Information Film Title: Director's Name: Evaluation Criteria	[		/
Evidence of Research         Clarity of Information         Film Title:         Director's Name: <b>Evaluation Criteria</b> Quality of Script	[		/



Personal Assessment Sheet: History Module

Name:	Date Presented :
Film Title:	
Group Members:	Group Roles:
Briefly describe the project undertaken by	y your group:
Describe in detail your input into the proj	
What did you do well as part of your grou	p?:
What skills did you use while working on t	this project?
What would you do differently if you were	to undertake this task again?
What were the strengths and weaknesses	of your group's project?
What were the strengths and weaknesses of Strengths:	
Weaknesses:	
WCallesses.	

# UNIT 8: THE TREATY AND THE CIVIL WAR

# THE TRUCE AND TREATY

After two and a half years of ambushes, reprisals, destruction of property and killings, a truce was declared on 11 July 1921. On 30 September, de Valera accepted Lloyd George's invitation to send a team of Irish negotiators to London "with a view to ascertaining how the association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire may be best reconciled with the Irish national aspirations".

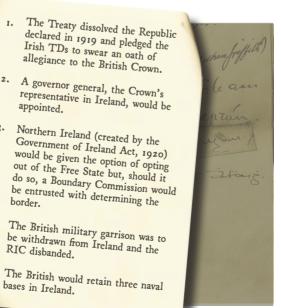
Arthur Griffith headed the delegation which also included Michael Collins, Eamonn Duggan, Robert Barton and George Gavan Duffy with Erskine Childers as secretary. The negotiations began in London on 11 October 1921 and on 6 December, in the face of Lloyd George's 'threat of terrible and immediate war, the Irish plenipotentiaries signed the Articles of Agreement. The Free State would remain within the empire but on terms that gave it equality of status with the other dominions in the British Commonwealth.

3. 5. bases in Ireland.

Ι.

appointed.

RIC disbanded.



The Treaty document revealed the divisions in the philosophy and leadership of Sinn Fein that had been festering since 1917. On returning to Ireland the delegates were met with hostile criticism from extreme republican members of the Dáil such as Cathal Brugha who viewed the Treaty as a betrayal of the men and women of 1916. Michael Collins, on the other hand, argued ...

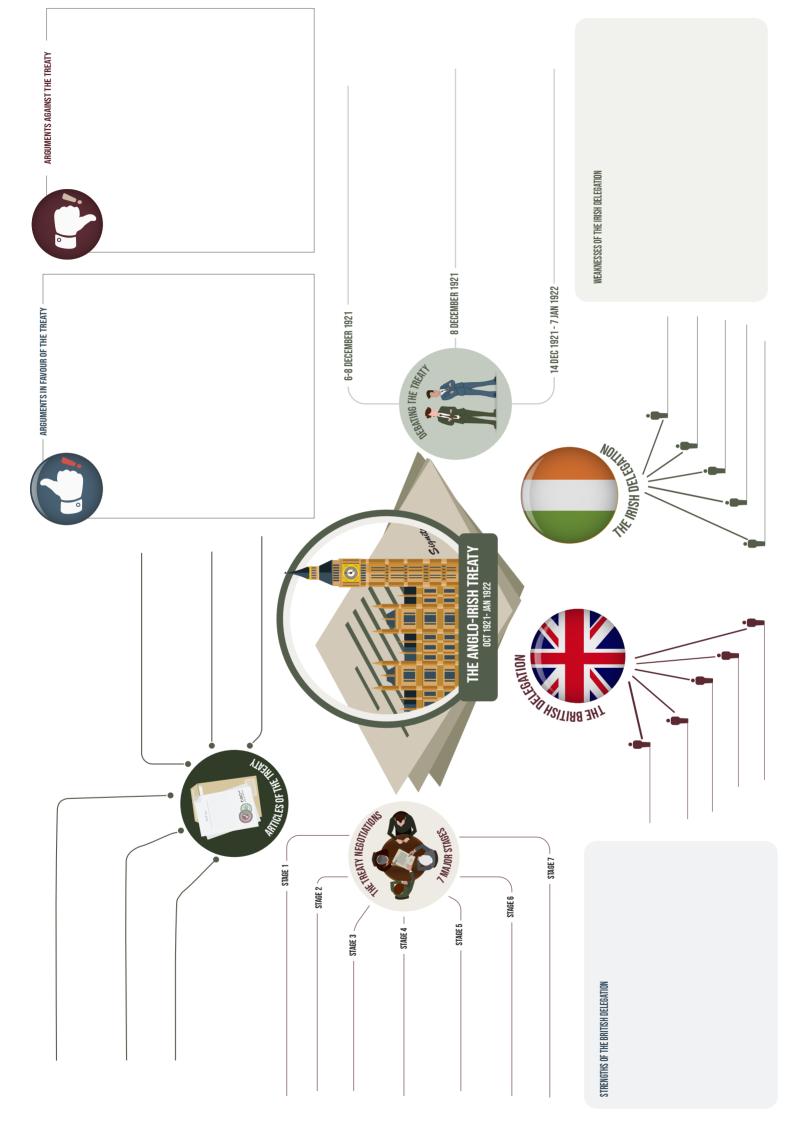
# "IN MY OPINION [THE TREATY] GIVES US FREEDOM. NOT THE ULTIMATE FREEDOM THAT ALL NATIONS DESIRE AND DEVELOP TO. BUT THE FREEDOM TO ACHIEVE IT."

- Michael Collins, Treaty Debates, 19 December, 1921-

For Eamon de Valera, the Treaty was 'not a stepping stone, but a barrier in the way to complete independence'. He criticised the delegation for signing without first consulting the Dáil believing believed they acted beyond their designated role.

### DÁIL DEBATES

After a series of highly-charged Dáil debates between 14 December 1921 and 7 January 1922, the parliament of the Irish republic ratified the Treaty by a slender 64-57 vote. The Treaty replaced the republic with a twenty-six-county Irish Free State governed by a parliament (later called the third Dáil) convened after a general election to be held in the near future. Until that time, a Provisional Government headed by Michael Collins would rule the country, while the Free State constitution would be written and approved by government negotiators in London and Dublin.





#### **EVACUATION OF BRITISH FORCES FROM IRELAND**

Following the creation of the Provisional Government on 14 January 1922, the process of evacuating the Crown forces from the twenty-six counties began. Dublin Castle was handed over to the Provisional Government on 16 January, the Auxiliary Division of the RIC and the Black and Tans left in January and February, and the RIC itself began to disband (a process finally completed in August 1922). Empty barracks across Ireland were then taken over the local IRA regardless of whether they were pro or anti-Treaty.

The first army barracks to be handed over was that in Clogheen, County Tipperary on 25 January, and on 31 January Beggars Bush Barracks in Dublin was formally handed over to the Provisional Government in a public ceremony. It would become the headquarters of the new National Army, funded and armed by Great Britain and loyal to the Provisional Government.

#### PACT ELECTION, JUNE 1922

In order to avoid widening the split in Sinn Féin and ensure a peaceful election, Éamon de Valera and Michael Collins negotiated the 'pact' agreement for the upcoming general election on 16 June 1922, whereby Sinn Féin would run both pro- and anti-Treaty candidates without an indication of their stance on the Treaty. The returned candidates would form a coalition government with a pro-Treaty majority. The pact was widely criticised by Treatyites as undemocratic. The people were being asked to vote for the unity of Sinn Fein rather than pronounce the Treaty. The British declared that the pact was a breach of the Treaty with Churchill declaring that it was an 'arrangement full of disaster'. In the week of the election republicans complained that Treatyites issued propaganda for their own side of Sinn Fein rather than for the whole panel. In reality few were people in any doubt about the respective positions of the candidates on the issue of the Treaty.

Two days later Collins himself violated the terms of the pact when he told his supporters in Cork to 'vote for the men you think best'. The pact broke down two days before the election. Republicans were also critical about the publication of the new Free State constitution which included reference to the Oath on the morning of the election.

The election returned pro-Treaty Sinn Féin as the largest party, with fifty-eight seats out of 128 (less than a majority), while the anti-Treatyites won thirty-six. The participation of other parties, notably Labour and the Farmers' Party, was crucial, since their combined first-preference vote of over 40 per cent, added to the vote for pro-Treaty Sinn Féin candidates, allowed the Provisional Government to claim a popular majority for the Treaty.

#### **IRA REACTION TO THE TREATY**

In 1919, after members of the IRA swore allegiance to Dáil Éireann. Many officers believed that the disestablishment of the Irish Republic by the Treaty relieved them of any further loyalty to the Dail and they called for an IRA convention to determine army policy. IRA Chief of Staff and Minister for Defence in the Provisional Government, Richard Mulcahy delayed approval for the convention, allowing time for the establishment of the National Army.

When Richard Mulcahy called off an IRA army convention scheduled for 26 March 1922 at the Mansion House, defiant anti-Treaty IRA officers attended anyway. They rejected the right of the Dáil to dissolve the Republic and declared its independence from the Ministry of Defence. The IRA Military Convention reconvened on 9 April and elected an new army executive, which appointed Liam Lynch as chief of staff. At this stage the IRA began to be called the 'executive forces', or, in the pro-government press, 'Mutineers' or 'Irregulars'.

TLAS OF THE

THE TWO DOMINANT FIGURES OF IRA GENERAL HEADQUARTERS STAFF, RICHARD MULCAHY AND MICHAEL COLLINS, ASSUMED TOP POSITIONS IN THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER ... IT CAN BE ESTIMATED THAT UP TO 75 PER CENT OF IRA MEMBERS OPPOSED THE TREATY.

- John Borgonovo, Atlas of the Trish Revolution, 2017-

The anti-Treaty IRA was further divided into moderates and extremists. The majority, drawn largely from Liam Lynch's powerful 1st Southern Division, believed negotiations should continue. They sought a compromise that would avoid civil war but also undermine the Treaty. A radical minority of the anti-Treaty IRA wanted to block any further implementation of the Treaty and forcibly end the rule of the Provisional Government. Tensions within the IRA were increased by the contested occupation of vacated barracks in Limerick.

On 14 April 1922, 200 of these hard-line anti-Treaty forces under the command of Rory O'Connor and Liam Mellows, occupied the Four Courts and set up a Council of War. In the meantime the new Provisional Government of the Free State set up a Ministry of Defence at Beggar's Bush Barracks under Richard Mulcahy.



#### - Document A -

# **EVENING HERALD** PRICE 3 HALFPENCE

VOL 31, No 13

#### DUBLIN, MONDAY, JANUARY, 16th, 1922

# DUBLIN CASTLE IN THE HANDS OF THE IRISH PEOPLE

#### HISTORIC SCENES

#### Huge Crowd Witnesses the Posting of the Last Guard

Historic scenes were witnessed at Dublin Castle today prior to the handing over of the building to the Provisional Government of the Irish Free State.

From an early hour crowds thronged the approaches and a vast assembly witnessed the posting of the last guard at one o'clock, the ceremony evoking considerable interest ... A stir was created at about 11.30 by the parade of a number of Auxiliaries of F Company who were addressed on parade by General Boyd prior to disbandment. There was a general air of breaking up about the place and lorries laden with documents, bedding accouterments etc., were constantly passing and re-passing.

Police officials of the RIC and DMP looked on at the preparations for handing over with fascinated interest, if not with a sense of bewilderment ... There were also to be seen military and Auxiliary officers who had taken a leading part in the recent Irish war.

In the lower Castle yard were groups of journalists representing the Press of the world and there was the usual small army of photographers ... As the forenoon wore on the crowd outside the Castle gates swelled to enormous dimensions, and thousands were packed along Dame street, Parliament street, and adjoining thoroughfares.

Promptly at 1.30 ... Mr. Collins, Mr. Hogan, and Mr O'Higgins in the first car drove through the gates of the Lower Yard. Crown forces about on duty stood to attention, whilst other members of the forces present as spectators joined in the cheering. Mr. Collins smiled broadly and agreeably as he passed along.

In a few seconds the other two cars containing the remainder of the Government Ministers were within the gates. The three vehicles stopped at the Chief Secretary's Office, and Mr Collins was the first to alight and enter the building ... The huge staff at the Castle were all obviously most eager to get a glimpse of Mr. Collins. As the Ministers left the taxis one could hear on all sides "Which is Collins?" being asked. In less than five minutes Lord FitzAlan arrived in a palatial motor. There were cheers by the crowd as he drove in, but many did not recognise him. Accompanied by two aides-de-camp, he at once entered the Chief Secretary's office and met Mr. Collins and his Government.



KEVIN O'HIGGINS (FRONT) AND MICHAEL COLLINS LEAVING DUBLIN CASTLE FOLLOWING THE SYMBOLIC handing over of the historic seat of British power in Ireland to the Provisional Government.

Through the windows Mr. Collins could be seen smiling and looking absolutely selfpossessed as he met the Viceroy. The formality of taking over control was begun. The ceremonies would have taken place earlier, but Mr. Collins had been in the country for the weekend, and did not arrive in town until the 12.25 train from the South ...

At about 2.30 o'clock the Provisional Government left the Castle in their motors ... loudly cheered by the large crowd that had gathered at the gate.

#### MR DE VALERA

#### ATTITUDE TO THE TREATY EXPLAINED

By the courtesy of the International News service, we are enabled to publish the following interview which Mr. D O'Connell, its staff correspondent in Dublin, had with Mr. De Valera yesterday:-

Mr. O'Connell writes:- To-day Mr. Eamon de Valera received me at his home and granted the first authentic interview since opening the [Treaty] negotiations.

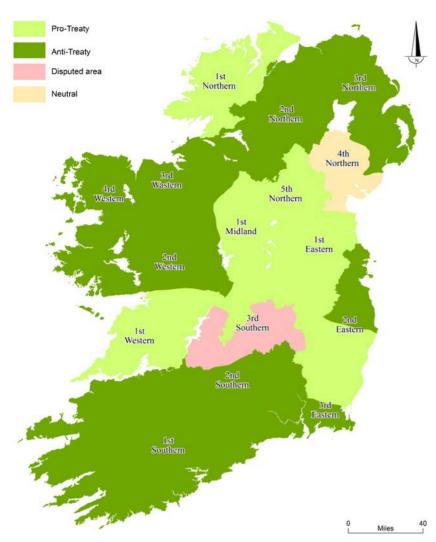
My first question was why he would not accept the Anglo-Irish Treaty as a stepping stone to full freedom for Ireland. De Valera's reply was sharp: - "Because it is not a stepping stone but a barrier in the way to complete independence." If this Treaty [is] accepted by Ireland, it will certainly be maintained that a solemn binding contract has been voluntarily entered into by the Irish people, and Britain will seek to hold us to that contract.

#### A YEAR AGO.

A little over a year ago, when I sought official recognition from the Government of the United States, I was able to plead, as a basis for Ireland's right to free national selfdetermination, that the people of Ireland constituted a distinct and separate nation ... In Irish history there is not a single instance of the Irish people voluntarily bending the knee to British authority. Ireland's moral case was perfect. There had never been a spiritual surrender. Now this Treaty, if ratified by the Irish people, will determine our whole position ...

The plain people's uncritical summing up of the Treaty is that it will leave them as free from English interference as the peoples of Canada, Australia or South Africa. But Ireland is not three, six, nine thousand miles away from England ... nor are the historical relations between England and those countries, the same as the historical relations between Britain and Ireland - and he is a credulous person indeed who believes that the authority, which is but a symbolic shadow in Canada, Australia and South Africa is intended to remain a similar shadow in Ireland ... My ideal is now, as it has always been, that of an Independent Irish Republic.

- Document B -



#### (1) Map showing the division of the IRA on the Treaty issue in the spring of 1922

With the exception of Clare, (under the influence of Michael Brennan), Longford (under the influence of Seán Mac Eoin) and a minority of the Dublin No. 1 Brigade, the most active parts of the pre-Truce IRA went anti-Treaty. The vacated British army barracks in Listowel, County Kerry and Skibbereen, County Cork were the only ones in Munster occupied by Volunteers loyal to the Provisional Government/GHQ. The 3rd Southern contained both pro- and anti-Treaty units and Frank Aiken's 4th Northern Division was neutral before and at the beginning of the Civil War.

#### (2) Oscar Traynor addressing a parade of Dublin City IRA Brigade units at Smithfield, Dublin on 2 April 1922

After IRA convention of 26 March 1922, senior anti-Treaty officers outlined their position to their units and appealed to members for assistance in defeating the Anglo-Irish Treaty.



[Source: National Library of Ireland, HoG228]

In spring 1922 pro-Treaty government leaders strengthened their political position by holding rallies of supporters across Ireland. In April 1922 the anti-Treaty IRA tried to prevent Dáil Éireann president Arthur Griffith from speaking in Sligo town. Commandant General Liam Pilkington posted IRA units in strong locations across the town. Rather than surrender to the threat, the Provisional Government dispatched a National Army force to Sligo under the command of General Seán Mac Eoin. While gunfire was briefly exchanged and a tense stand-off ensued, Arthur Griffith's meeting ultimately went ahead without major violence. The government considered this a victory given the volatile state of Irish public life during April 1922.

#### - Document C -

(1) Arthur Griffith speaking at a pro-Treaty Rally in Sligo Town, April 1922



(2) National Army (NA) Troops and Vehicles on Pound Street, Sligo Town, 1922



[Source: Independent Newspapers Ireland/National Library of Ireland Collection, INDH 31C]

Photograph Analysis Worksheet

#### **1. THE BASICS**

**Photograph Type:** *tick any boxes that apply* 

	Doc 1	Doc 2			Doc 1	Doc 2	 	Doc 1	Doc
Portrait			Р	Posed			Colour		
Event			U	Jnposed			Black & Wh	ite	
Landscape			S	elfie			Close-up		
Architecture			А	Action			Panoramic		
Family			А	Aerial					

#### **2. FIRST IMPRESSIONS**

	Document 1	Document 2
Where and when was the photograph taken?		
List the people/ groups, objects in the photograph		
What actions / activities (if any) are taking place?		
What body language/ facial expressions, are captured on film?		
Three words that sum up your first impression		

3. ANALYSE	Document 1	Document 2
Why do you think this photograph was taken?		
What does the angle/frame/ perspective of suggest about the photographer's point of view about the subject?		
What 3 adjectives best describe the viewpoint of the photographer?		
Do you have any unanswered questions about the photograph?		



- Document D -

# THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN

#### PUBLIC MEETING AT BAILIEBORO

On Sunday evening last, after a football match in Bailieboro', a Republican meeting was held on the Market Square. The speeches were delivered off a motor car, from which a specially prepared Republican flag bearing the words: "Irish Republic" floated. There was a fairly good crowd present, all of whom followed the addresses with keen interest. There was no interruption.

Mr. H. Rooney introduced Mr. J. Fegan, Organiser, who said:- The people are about to be asked to decide one of the most momentous questions ever fallen to the lot of Irishmen to decide. Unfortunately there is at present a sand storm raging throughout Ireland, particles of which are finding their way into the eyes of some of our people and blinding them to the real political issue.

We have come to a deplorable stage in our history when we find our one-time chosen leaders on opposing platforms, preaching totally different doctrines, men who have sacrificed and bled together in a grand endeavour to overthrow a common enemy.

Let us examine the offer that is being made to us by those opposed to us ... They call upon us by a single stroke of our pen to do what all the fiendish Black and Tannery of England was unable to do. A parallel in history can scarcely be found for such inconsistency. Arthur Griffith told his hearers in Dublin recently that the treaty, for the first time in the history of the two countries recognises the nationhood of Ireland - and he never even smiled!

Are the six counties in the North of Ireland not in Ireland? ... If he had spoken correctly he would have said, for the first time in the history of Ireland, the people are asked to sign a treaty making a present of six counties in Ireland to England! England will also be in possession of our four important ports, and to prove our love and obedience we will have to take an oath of allegiance to her King.

When the delegates went to England as representatives of the Sovereign Irish State, they carried with them instructions from their Cabinet to sign nothing until they had sanction of the Cabinet. On their own admission they disobeyed the Irish people and now they ask us to sanction that act of disobedience ... It is now left to you, Bailieboro' people, to follow the lead and once and for all, free yourselves from England ... I ask you to reject this dishonourable Treaty. (Applause).

Mr. Gibbon, Republican Organiser, West Cavan, [... said] it was unnecessary for him to put the history of Easter Week before them. P. H. Pearse went out with a small band of soldiers behind him and he hoisted the three coloured flag. In 1918 you were called upon to decide and the Irish people gave their answer ... Why are you asked to change what you then did. I say look forward, don't pay any attention to the Dublin hostile Press [and ...] consider what will be the state of our country under the treaty.



# **COOTEHIIL TREATY MEETING**

On Sunday last after 11 o'clock Mass in Cootehill, Messrs Arthur Griffith and Sean Milroy, T.D.s, on their way to Cavan, addressed their constituents on the Market Square ... Mr Griffith, who was received with cheers, said four years ago East Cavan elected him as its representative, and Cootehiil took the lead in that fight. Three years ago he was in prison. Two years ago, when released from prison, he came to his faithful people in Cootehill to tell them the position as it then was. He came to them again to-day to know whether they thought he had been faithful to the trust they had placed in him, whether they were satisfied with his actions. ("We are", and cheers)

Speaking to them as his constituents, he would be frank. They had seen the statement that that (the delegates) were sent to England to bring back a Republic, and they had basely betrayed their trust. (A Voice:- 'Nothing of the kind"). If that had been their mandate, it would have ended

ended the matter. But it was not. They were sent to London to see if they could make an arrangement honourable to the Irish people and safeguarding their interests ... under no circumstances would Lloyd George recognise an Irish Republic ... After 8 weeks fighting [we] brought back the treaty ...

Under the Treaty they had got the British Army out of Ireland; they had got an army of their own to defend the country; they had taken over control of Irish trade, commerce and taxes. Ireland was recognised as a separate nation with a seat in the League of Nations. She had the right to send representatives to any international conference ... They had the right and the power to make Ireland again a Gaelicised nation, speaking its own language and forming its own government in any way it liked.

They were going to have an election in June to find out whether the people were with them or not. He was sure that they would

stand as firmly against intimidation as the electors of Clare in the days of [Daniel] O'Connell, or the farmers of Ireland in the days of the Land League, and that they would use the argument of the ballot, not that of the bullet ... When the election came he hoped that they would stand as firms against the Black and Tanism of Rory O'Connor as they had against the Black and Tanism of England (cheers) ...

Mr Sean Milroy said that he spoke in Cork to a meeting of 50,000 people, and in that vast meeting there were about 50 disturbers, who, with the aid of their lungs and their revolvers, interrupted the proceedings as far as they could. Fifty out of 50,000 were a very small minority, and that was typical of the situation in Ireland today. The Irish people were not taking these disturbers seriously. They regarded them as so many cantankerous children ...

No man had the right to threaten free speech or a free Press [...and] they were not going to submit to military terrorism.

- Document E-A selection of electioneering material from the 1922 Pact Election

A NATIONAL FLAG. A PARLIAMENT RESPONSIBLE TO THE 10. FREEDOM OF OPINION. 11. COMPLETE CONTROL OF IRISH IRISH PEOPLE ALONE. GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE TO EDUCATION THAT PARLIAMENT. 3. DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF ALL

2 A

LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS.

7. AN IRISH POLICE FORCE.

8. COMPLETE FINANCIAL FREEDOM.

BY IRISHMEN.

6. AN IRISH ARMY.

4. POWER TO MAKE LAWS FOR EVERY

DEPARTMENT OF IRISH LIFE.

5. AN IRISH LEGAL SYSTEM CONTROLLED

- 12. COMPLETE CONTROL OF HER LAND
- SYSTEMS.
- 13. POWER AND FREEDOM TO DEVELOP HER RESOURCES AND INDUSTRIES.
- 14. A DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION.
- 15. A STATE ORGANISATION TO EXPRESS
- THE MIND AND WILL OF THE NATION.

- 16. HER RIGHTFUL PLACE AS A NATION AMONG NATIONS.







https://www.youtube.com/watch?time\_continue=214&v=DhkPHLVHf1g

YOU CAN GET TO THE REPUBLIC No. 9 FOR ALL IRELAND

SAORSTAT NA

NDAY, APRIL 16th

RALLY

h'ÉIRCANN. COME TO THI GREAT LEINSTER RA

FREE ST

T.D.: Mr. C. M. BYRNE, T.D.: Alderman M. J. STAINES. Mr. GEAROD O'SULLIVAN, T.D.: Presed Traine for Name of STRAILED AND TALE

30 SAOPARO DIA ÉME.

Mr. JOSEPH McG

1000

2.

rah Labour, Irish Poper a id Irish Ink.

Through the safe and sure road of the Treaty or

YOU CAN TRY ANOTHER ROUND

# Through the Alphabet of Miseries

- Auxiliaries Jails Black and Tans. Knoutings Commandeerings Licence Deaths. Murders Executions Nerve Strain Ferocities Oppression Gallows Harassings Internments Raids
  - Spies Threats Usurpation Vandalism Wails Y which words
  - X. The final horrors Z cannot describe

Persecution Questionings

to get (perhaps)

Which way should a DOCUMENT No. 2 or others in later series) Sane Man or Woman Go? NATIONAL EXTERMINATION

Support the Treaty Candidates. [Sources: National Library of Ireland, ePH GI8]

#### - Document F-

As the 1922 Pact Election was only the second election under the proportional-representation system (the first being the local elections of 1920), clear instructions were necessary. The situation was complicated by the pact between Collins and de Valera, whereby both pro- and anti-Treaty Sinn Fein candidates were technically on a coalition panel and the Treaty was not to feature in the campaign. In reality, few were in any doubt about the pro or anti-Treaty positions of the candidates.



### MANY ELECTION MEETINGS IN THE COUNTRY

An extremely large and enthusiastic meeting was held on The Mall, Waterford last night, (wires our correspondent), in support of the panel candidates for Waterford and East Tipperary ... Mr. de Valera, who was received with prolonged cheers, said they were there - irrespective of the views they had on the Treaty question - to ask them all to vote for the Panel candidates, one and all ... They in the Dáil had not come together yet on the big issue, but, as they could not agree, they had done the next best thing. They agreed to differ upon it and put it aside and not seek a decision upon it for the moment...

It was necessary for both parties (pro- and anti-Treaty Sinn Féin) to enter into a Coalition Government [which ...] would have behind it the support of both sections ... Mr. de Valera read the agreement between Mr. Collins and himself. They disagreed, he said, on one word - the Treaty - but the points they agreed on would not be summed up in a volume. Both wanted a truly Irish Ireland and respected each other. He wanted a Government the people would respect.

#### **PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION, 1922**

CONSTITUENCY OF KIDARE AND WICKLOW

Polling Date: - Friday, 16th June, 1922 Hours of Polling: - 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. (new time)

Vote SINN FEIN Secure Peace & Unity

SPECIMEN BALLOT PAPER		
Mark order of Preference in spaces below	NAMES OF CANDIDATES	
	BARTON	
	BERGIN	
	BUCKELY	
	BYRNE	
	CHILDERS	
	COLOHAN	
	EVERETT	
	O'CONNOR	
	PHELAN	
	WILSON	

INSTRUCTIONS TO VOTERS

Place the Figure 1 opposite the Name of the Candidate you LIKE BEST ... VOTE FOR THE FIVE CANDIDATES WHOSE NAMES APPEAR ON THIS BILL IN HEAVY TYPE.

SINN FEIN ABU!



# PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

# What it Means

Proportional Representation is a method of voting and counting votes. Under this system, parties, whether in a majority or in a minority, are represented in the result of the election according to the express desire of the people who voted: When a candidate has been elected, and he has more votes than he requires, each surplus

When a candidate has been elected, and he has more votes than he requires, each surplus ballot paper is transferred to the candidate whom the voter likes next best.

If a candidate has received so few votes, that he cannot possibly be elected he is excluded from the count, but the votes are not lost. Each ballot paper is transferred to the candidate whom the votes likes next best.

For example—Suppose there were an Election for 5 Seats and there were 7 Candidates, A,B,C,D,E for one party, and F,G for another. The ballot papers are examined and the results found to be:

B " C "	es 1059 votes 1054 " 1041 "	Under the former system, A,B,C,D,E would have been elected, BUT under Proportional Representation a quota (i.e. the number of votes necessary to secure the election of a candidate)
D " E " F "	922 " 910 " 703 "	is Number of valid votes + 1 Number of seats to be filled + 1
G " Total	<u>562</u> " 6251	or $\frac{6251}{5+1} + 1 = \frac{6251+1}{6} = 1042$ Therefore 1,042 is the quota

The first step would be to exclude G. If all the voters who liked G best, liked F next best, the 562 votes for G would be transferred to F. He would then have 1265 votes - i.e. more than the quota. F is therefore, bound to be elected.

THEREFORE, it is well to indicate the order of your choice for practically all of the candidates, but there is a real safeguard that a paper will not be transferred from the candidate you mark as first choice so long as that candidate requires the vote.

# How to Vote

No Ballot Paper at an Election held under Proportional Representation should be marked with an X. This will spoil it.

It is first of all necessary to

PLACE THE FIGURE 1 in the space on the left hand side of the ballot paper opposite the name of the candidate YOU LIKE BEST.

Then you should, if you wish,

PLACE THE FIGURE 2 opposite the name of the Candidate you like SECOND BEST

"	"	3	"	"	"	"	THIRD	"	
"	"	4	"	"	"	"	FOURTH	"	
"	"	5	"	"	"	"	FIFTH	"	
"	"	6	"	"	"	"	SIXTH	"	
"	"	7	"	"	"	"	SEVENTH	"	

(See the Examples opposite)

If anything else except the number is written or marked on the ballot paper the vote may be rejected as invalid. Any paper not having the figure 1 set opposite the name of some one candidate, or which is not marked at all, or in regard to which there is uncertainty, may be rejected and not counted at all. If you make a mistake in marking your paper, and spoil it, give it back to the Presiding Officer and ask for a fresh one.

# When to Vote

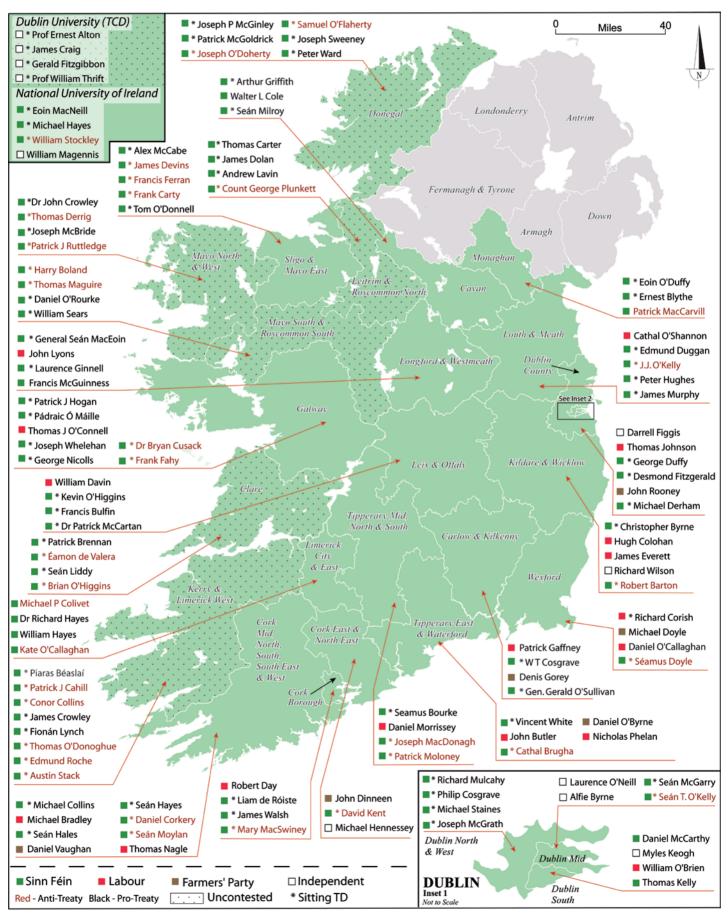
Vote early. This saves endless trouble to the Presiding Officers. Electors who start out late on the day may not reach the polling station in time to vote.

A SAMPLE BALLOT PAPER ISSUED BY SINN FÉIN for the Kildare-Wicklow constituency before the June 1922 'Pact' general election. The names in bold are the Sinn Féin candidates – Robert Barton, Daniel Buckley, Christopher Byrne, Erskine Childers and Art O'Connor – all anti-Treaty except for Byrne. Bergin, Phelan and Wilson were independents, while Colohan and Everett were the Labour Party candidates

#### -Document G -

#### Map showing the candidates returned for each constituency in the June 1922 general election

Just a few days before the election, Michael Collins broke the pact, but it had served its purpose of ensuring a relatively peaceful election campaign. The election returned pro-Treaty Sinn Féin as the largest party, with fifty-eight seats out of 128 (less than a majority), while the anti-Treatyites won thirty-six. The map shows names of the returned candidates listed in order of seats won. Party affiliation (if any) and whether the candidate was a sitting TD is indicated, as well as the pro- or anti-Treaty stance taken by Sinn Féin 'panel' candidates.



[Sources: B. Walker, Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland, 1918–1992 (Dublin, 1992); contemporary newspaper reports; and M. Gallagher, 'The Pact General election of 1922', Irish Historical Studies, vol. xxii, no. 84 (Sept. 1979), pp. 404–21]

# COMPREHENSION AND CRITICISM QUESTIONS

# **DOCUMENTS A-G**

1. Based on evidence from the Evening Herald, describe the mood of (a) Michael Collins and (b) the crowd of

spectators at Dublin Castle? (Doc A) 2. Why do you think the *Evening Herald* described the events at Dublin Castle as '*historic*'? (Doc A) 3. How does Eamon de Valera describe the Treaty during his interview with D. O'Connell? 4. Why does de Valera think that England's relationship with Ireland under the Treaty will be different to its relationships with its other dominions? (Doc A) 5. How many IRA divisions remained loyal to provisional government in 1922? (Doc B1) 6. What were the two largest anti-Treaty divisions in 1922? (Doc B1) 7. Complete the Photograph Analysis Worksheet for Documents C1 and C2 8. Why, according to Mr. J. Fegan had they come to a 'deplorable stage' in their history? (Doc D1) 9. What aspects of the Treaty does J. Fegan highlight as being unacceptable to republicans? (Doc D1)



10. Imagine that you attended both meetings described in Document C. Write the text of two tweets you might have sent during each of the speeches. *Remember* you are limited to 140 characters and need to clearly communicate the *main message/atmosphere/ sound bites* to your interested followers.

	Compose new Tweet				Compose new Tweet	
I What's happening?	0	:: 140 Tweet	I What	's happening? GIF	0	U Tweet
	•				•	
	Compose new Tweet				Compose new Tweet	
I What's happening?			[ What	's happening?		
		$\odot$				$\odot$

11. If you were a voter in 1922, which of the two pro-Treaty posters would you find most persuasive? Explain your answer with reference to both posters (*Docs E1 and E2*)

12. Taking note of the anti-Treaty arguments and persuasive techniques in Document E, design a poster asking voters to decide *against* the Treaty.



ATLAS OF THE

DI

Schools

econdary.

Resources

	(a)
	(b)
	(C)
14.	What do the results in Kerry and West Limerick suggest about the constituents' opinion of the Treaty?
15.	In what constituencies were (a) Michael Collins (b) Kevin O'Higgins (c) Eamon de Valera (d) Cathal Brugha elected? <i>(Doc G)</i>
	(a) (b)
	(c) (d)
16.	What were the names of the candidates elected in your county? (Doc F)
17.	The total number of seats in the 1922 general election was 128. Draw a bar chart showing the seats won by Pro-Treaty Sinn Fein, Anti-Treaty Sinn Fine, Independents, Labour and Farmers' Party.
125	
120 -	
115 -	
110 -	
105 —	
100	

115 -									
110 -									
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	PRO-TREATY SINN	I FEIN	LABOUR	INDEPENDENTS	AN	FI-TREATY SINN F	FEIN	FARMERS PARTY	

# PHASE I: JUNE - JULY 1922

On 18 June 1922 the anti-Treaty IRA held a final convention at the Mansion House. Rory O'Connor and Liam Mellows walked out in protest at the proposals of the moderates, reconvened in the Four Courts and voted to replace the moderate Liam Lynch with Joe McKelvey as the new chief of staff. The anti-Treaty IRA had split in two.

When anti-Treaty IRA man Leo Henderson was arrested by pro-Treaty forces in Dublin, the Four Courts garrison responded by abducting Free State officer, J. J. 'Ginger' O'Connell. This action, combined with the assassination of British General Sir Henry Wilson in London, then serving as the Northern Ireland government's security adviser, meant that Michael Collins came under significant pressure from the British to respond with force.

The Free State ministers saw no alternative to military action. Collins issued an ultimatum to the Four Courts garrison that would expire at 4 a.m. on Tuesday 27 June 1922: surrender of be fired upon. Two eighteen-pound field guns were aimed at the Four Courts from across the Liffey and at 4.07 a.m. when the rebels remained inside, the free state forces fired. Knowing of the split in republican ranks, the leaders hoped fighting would be brief and confined to Dublin. However both moderate and militant anti-Treaty IRA officers considered the attack on Four Courts a declaration of war against the Irish republic. The Civil War had begun.

While the Four Courts was being bombarded with British artillery, republicans seized fourteen buildings on the east side of O'Connell (Sackville) Street, which became known as 'The Block'. Anti-Treaty IRA leader of the Dublin Brigade, Oscar Traynor established a new Headquarters in Hammam Hotel and Cathal Brugha was appointed O/C of its garrison of 100 men and women.



FLAS OF THE

Resources

The destruction of the Four Courts on 30 July 1922 signalled an end to the three-day siege of the building. The IRA executive surrendered shortly afterwards, as the Four Courts began to collapse. The National Army now concentrated its efforts on Oscar Traynor's positions. Three armoured cars were put into action as well as an 18 pounder gun to attack 'The Block'.

On the night of Monday 3 July, Traynor ordered the majority of the garrison to evacuate the complex, leaving only a token force under the command of Cathal Brugha to hold 'The Block' which was bombarded for three days. When Traynor sent word that Brugha was to surrender, he refused. By Wednesday the small garrison had retreated to the last tenable position, the Granville Hotel. The building was hit by a shell from the 18 pounder gun and a fire broke out. With the building burning around them Brugha ordered his garrison to surrender. NA troops were in position in Thomas Lane at the rear of 'The Block'. That evening Brugha emerged from the burning building. Called on to surrender, he refused and was fatally wounded. Anti-Treaty forces evacuated the city and from Cork, Liam Lynch issued a statement affirming that he was chief of staff again The first battle of the Civil War was over.



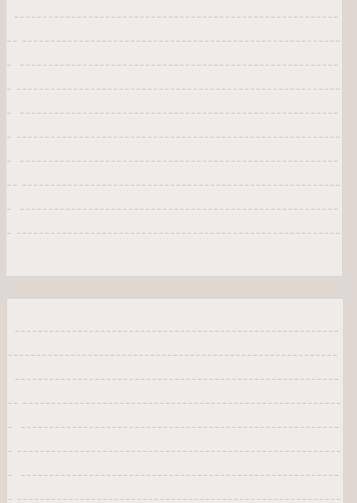
[Source: National Library of Ireland, NPA CIVP8]



[Source: Independent Newspapers Ireland/ National Library of Ireland Collection, INDH224]



[Source: National Library of Ireland HoG 134]



#### - Document H-

Letter from British Prime Minister David Lloyd George to Michael Collins, 22 June 1922, written in the aftermath of the killing of Sir Henry Wilson by IRA gunmen outside his London residence. Lloyd George demanded an immediate response from the Provisional Government. The Wilson assassination triggered the Provisional Government's attack on the IRA executive in the Four Courts five days later.

#### APPENDIX II

#### Downing Street 22nd June, 1922

Dear Mr, Collins,

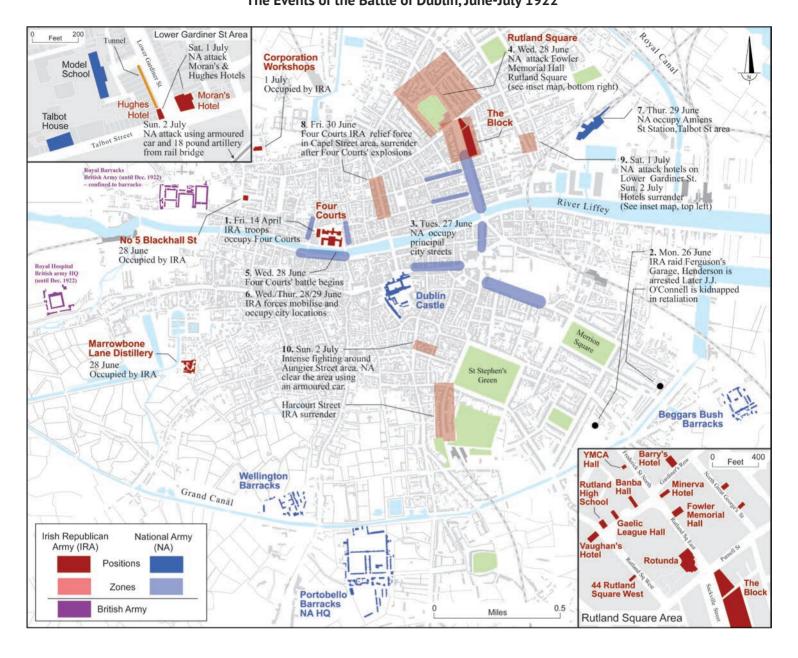
I am desired by His Majesty's Government to inform you that documents have been found upon the murderers of Field-Marshall Sir Henry Wilson which clearly connect the assassins with the Irish Republican Army, and which further reveal the existence of a definite conspiracy against the peace and order of this country. Other information has reach His Majesty's Government showing that active preparations are on foot among the irregular elements of the IRA to resume attacks upon the lives and property of British subjects both in England and in Ulster.

The ambiguous position of the Irish Republican Army can no longer be ignored by the British Government. Still less can Mr Rory O'Connor be permitted to remain with his followers and his arsenal in open rebellion in the heart of Dublin in possession of the Courts of Justice, organising and sending out from this centre enterprises of murder not only in the area of your Government but also in the six Northern Counties and in Great Britain. His Majesty's Government can not consent to a continuance of this state of things, and they feel entitled to ask you formally to bring it to an end forthwith.

Assistance has on various occasions been given to Dominions of the empire in cases where their authority was challenged by rebellion on tier soil; and His Majesty's Government are prepared to place at your disposal the necessary of artillery which may be required, or otherwise to assist you as many be arranged. But I am to inform you that they regard the continued toleration of this rebellious defiance of the principles of the Treaty as incompatible with its faithful execution. They feel that now you are supported by the declared will of the Irish people in favour of the Treaty, they have a right to expect that the necessary action will be taken by your government without delay.

Yours etc. (Sgd,) David Lloyd George.

- Document I -The Events of the Battle of Dublin, June-July 1922



**Caption:** The National Army (NA) decided that the best way to limit the fighting in Dublin was to isolate the Four Courts from the other anti-Treaty IRA garrisons. On 27 June NA troops took up positions in O'Connell (Sackville) Street, Middle Abbey Street and Dame Street, effectively cutting any link between the anti-Treaty IRA positions. At the same time, from his headquarters in Barry's Hotel Oscar Traynor ordered the rest of the Dublin Brigade to mobilise.

At the Four Courts the NA blocked the front gates with Lancia cars. Two eighteen-pounder guns were placed on the south side of the Liffey, firmly fixed on the building. The NA occupied the Medical Mission and the Four Courts Hotel, covering both flanks of the Four Courts and the Bridewell prison to the rear. NA snipers were placed in the tower of St Michan's church and Jameson Distillery in Smithfield. The Four Courts were completely surrounded. The IRA garrison in the courts numbered roughly 180, divided into six sections scattered throughout the complex. The orderlies Section, made up of Na Fianna Éireann, was in the Public records office (PRO), while the headquarters block was at the rear of the courts. Both were isolated from the central building and dominated by the NA positions in the Bridewell and later Hammond Lane. A tunnel had been created between the headquarters block and the main building, but the IRA did not have enough material to complete it. An escape tunnel was dug leading to Patterson's match factory, but again was not completed. The reluctance of the IRA executive to seize the initiative when it had the chance was a fatal mistake. The NA had the upper hand.

For three days the courts were bombarded by eighteen-pounder guns, machine-gun fire and rifle fire. on the afternoon of 30 June two massive explosions occurred. The PRO and the central building lay in ruins. At 4 p.m. the garrison had no other option but to surrender.

#### [Caption by Liz Gillis]

#### - Document J -

The weekly republican news sheet, *Poblacht na hÉireann* was first published during the attack on the Four Courts as a way of conveying news of the changing situation to journalists, supporters and the general public. It was edited mainly by Erskine Childers until his arrest (November 1922), and later by Frank Gallagher and others. The later editions convey news of day-to-day events in the Civil War from a republican perspective.



# POBLACHT NA h=EIREANN.

# WAR NEWS No. 6

SUNDAY JULY 2

Seventh Year of the Republic

PRICE THREEPENCE

# THE FIGHT GOES ON

# LATEST INTELLIGENCE - OFFICIAL

The Republican forces operating in Dublin have been reinforced with both men and material.

For military reasons, no further information can be given on this subject at the present time.

# I.R.A. Prisoners Treated as Criminals

DISPATCH FROM COMDT-GEN LIAM MELLOWES

Mountjoy Criminal Prison 11 p.m., 30/6/22

At 9 p.m. to-night 50 prisoners of the Irish Republican Army were brought under heavy escort to Mountjoy Criminal prison. On arrival there they demanded through the Chief of Staff, Comdt.-Gen Joseph McKelvey, that they be treated as prisoners of war. To this demand the officer in charge of the prison garrison troops of the so-called Provisional Government replied that ... they would be treated as criminals. Comdt.-Gen McKelvey ... then stated that they would refuse to enter the cells, and that they would have to be carried there by force.

After further parley, the O/C in charge of the prison garrison, decided not to use force ... The latest development of the situation is that at the moment of writing, 11 p.m. the orders issued to the O/C of the prison are:- "That the Republican prisoners are to enter the cells without any conditions being agreed to beforehand. Failing to [agree] to these terms the prisoners are to lie on the grass all night with machine-guns trained on them. ... The prisoners have accepted the alternative, and many of them are asleep on the grass. The soldiers of the Army of the Republic now incarcerated in Mountjoy Prison recognise only the authority of the Government of the Republic they fought to establish ... Here in this spot, sacred to the memory of Kevin Barry and other martyrs of the Republic, they deny the authority of any usurping Government that recognises the right of the British King in Ireland. With this principle clearly defined, they are prepared to carry on the fight or the Republic inside the Jail.

> (Signed) LIAM MELLOWES Comdt.-Gen, I.R.A, Camp Adjutant

#### "CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY" FALSE PROPAGANDA OF THE FREE STATE

In a Proclamation issued on the 30<sup>th</sup> the Provisional Government said: "We ask no man or woman to yield up any ideal or principle. Liberty will be secured to all under constitutional guarantees, but it will be constitutional liberty."

This is barefaced deception, meant to deceive the Irish people and the world. ... The first answer to that is that the Republic is not an ideal. It is a living fact ... They are destroying the Republic. We are upholding it.

The second answer is to point to the Free State constitution dictated at the point of a bayonet by Lloyd George and Churchill. Every loophole for the achievement of national independence is closed by this shameful document. Republicans are made outlaws by this so-called "Constitution". The Treaty and the Constitution compel all honest Republicans to deny and defy the authority of any Free State Government, and to give obedience and allegiance solely to the living and indestructible liberty.

# Prisoner Shot in Mountjoy

At 5.10 p.m. at Mountjoy Prison to-day three shots were fired. Immediately afterwards some of the Republican prisoners shouted to their friends that one of their comrades was shot and wounded by a warder. A doctor arrived, but no information was given to the people.

LATER

Prisoner was shot by a Free State soldier, not by a warder.

### THE WEST'S AWAKE

Galway Free State troops have sent a dispatch to the Free State GHQ appealing for reinforcements, as they are being strongly pressed by our troops and cannot hold out much longer. The West's Awake!

# **ESCAPED PRISONERS**

Of the prisoners who escaped from Jameson's two are:- Comdt.-Gen Ernest O'Maille and Comdt.-Gen. Joseph Griffen, both Staff Officers of the Republican Army Executive.

# FOUR COURTS NOTES

#### BY AN ESCAPED PRISONER

The Free State Press contains reports of the shooting by the 'Irregulars' at Red Cross officials. This is untrue.

On the other hand, a continuous fire was kept up on the hospital in the Four Courts ... It was necessary on this account to transfer all the hospital staff under fire...

Men fighting for the Republic were attacked at the Four Courts by some of those who fought with them for the Republic in the Custom House last year. The defenders of the Four Courts were fighting for the same cause. Their assailants took the place of the British.

The position of the men in the Four Courts at the time of the surrender was a hopeless one. They had retired to the last available quarters, the rest of the building having been blown in.

Shells then played on these quarters, while the only point of retreat was covered by armoured cars and machine gun emplacements. Free State officers expressed the belief that in such a retreat not a man could escape.

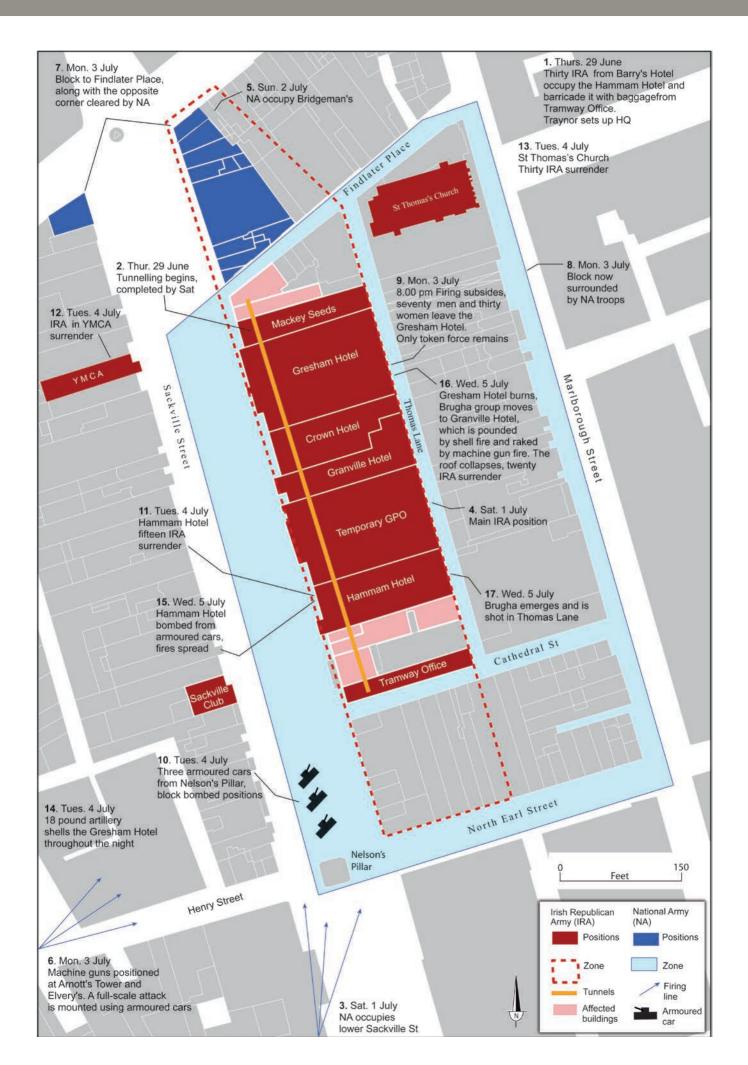
The men marched out with their heads up, not with their hands up, as stated in the daily Press.

During the fighting Comdt.-General O'Connell, of the Free State Army, was given the best possible treatment. As each position in which he was held became dangerous, he was transferred to the next safest position. After three hours of the siege General O'Connell expressed his amazement that the Republican troops had not already surrendered and that the place had not been taken.

After the last position became untenable and when the Republican soldiers were removed to the premises of Messrs. Jameson and Sons, Bow Lane, Comdt. Ernie O'Malley, Comdt. Joseph Griffen and other Republican officers and men succeeded in effecting their escape.

#### - Document K -

#### Events on O'Connell Street during the Battle of Dublin, June-July 1922



#### - Document L -



# DRAMATIC SCENES AT SURRENDER

# DASH FROM BURNING HOTEL

#### HOW MR. CATHAL BRUGHA RECEIVED HIS WOUND

#### Completely Successful Operations by the National Army

The most dramatic episodes in the O'Connell Street operations were the appearance of Mr. Art O'Connor, with a white flag from the Granville Hotel, and the dash for liberty which was made by Mr. Cathal Brugha before he was seriously wounded.

#### SURRENDER IN O'CONNELL ST THRILLING SCENES

The last scene in the last act of the O'Connell St. tragedy is graphically described. The fire, which had begun during the day and had spread rapidly along the block, had extended to the Granville Hotel. Here it was that the garrison were putting up their last stand. Volleys of machine-gun and rifle fire were being poured into the building, from all the windows of which dense volumes of smoke were issuing ...

The building was burning fiercely when, waving a white flag, Mr. Art O'Connor, hatless and dust begrimed, emerged from the building followed by a small band of men. Red Cross men at Cathedral St. ran towards them, shouting at the same time to the National troops in Messers Hickey's premises to cease fire.

#### MR. O'CONNOR'S STATEMENT

"We fought until we could fight no longer. There have been only 16 of us in this block for the last three days."

Five of them, he added had been captured in the surrender that morning. With that party were Mrs. MacSwiney, widow of the late Lord Mayor of Cork and Miss Barry, sister of Kevin Barry ... Asked if Mr. de Valera had been with them, he replied, "Yes but he and the other chaps got away three days ago" ... He also intimated that Mr. Austin Stack had also left the place three days previously.



Funeral of Cathal Brugha (1874-1922), who fought in O'Connell Street on the Republican side and died 7 July 1922 from wounds received two days before.

Three nurses who remained with the beleaguered garrison to the last shed tears. The prisoners included some young boys, who had Sacred Heart badges pinned to their coats and carried revolver holsters ... So far as can be ascertained the total number of prisoners taken in the Dublin struggle alone is about 700.

A short time later what was perhaps the most dramatic incident in the whole scene took place. When the first group left the building somebody asked where was Cathal Brugha and everyone around instinctively turned towards the hotel, which was blazing fiercely.

#### MR. BRUGHA'S DASH CRY OF "HALT" UNHEEDED

It was when the firemen were battering down one of the doors that a small man, dustbegrimed with a drawn revolver in each hand, sprang forward. A Red Cross man appealed to him for God's sake, to stop.

"No no," he replied, and on he went towards Findlater's Place, and calls of "Halt!" could be heard amid the roar of the flames; but the man, who was Mr. Cathal Brugha, paid no heed to the command. A volley of shots rang out, and Mr. Brugha fell, blood spurting from his wound, and his weapons fell from his grasp.

He made a desperate, effort to rise, but again fell back. Doctors and Red Cross nurses rushed to the injured man and, having dressed the wound, he was removed to hospital in an ambulance. .... At z a.m. to-day, the condition of Mr. Brugha was described as "very weak."

A short distance away the last of the garrison were lined up and then the order, "Prisoners fall in" was given by Mr. Art O'Connor. In a twinkling they were surrounded by two files of National troops and marched away.

#### DEVASTATION IN O'CONNELL ST.

Yesterday's dawn in Dublin revealed broken masses of smouldering ruins where her greatest thoroughfare had stood ... The historic Protestant Church of St. Thomas in Marlborough St. was destroyed, being ignited, it is believed, by flying embers from the burning block in front. Fortunately the fire-fighters succeeded in overcoming the fire on the western side, not, however, before seven of its finest buildings had been destroyed.

Rough estimates as to the value of the destroyed property vary widely. One which places it at £1,750.000, exclusive of the Four Courts, another at between  $\pounds_{3,000,000}$  and  $\pounds_{4,000.000}$ .... Already 200 hotel workers have been unemployed as a result of the burning of their places of employment...

#### END OF THE CITY'S GREAT ORDEAL

Following the surrender of the Irregulars in their burning strongholds, the city, yesterday, enjoyed a period of comparative calm. Snipers were absent from the housetops. The machine gunners ceased their deadly activities. The National troops returned to barracks ... barricades were removed from many bridges. Trams were run on all the lines where the overhead wires were not damaged in the fighting. Many business houses in the centre of the city opened their doors for the first time for days, and although now and again the crack of rifles and revolvers resounded through the streets, crowds thronged into O'Connell Street to view the scene of destruction.

# COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

### THE BATTLE OF DUBLIN JUNE- JULY 1922

1. Summarise the main message of Lloyd George's letter to Michael Collins on 22 June 1922? (Doc H) 2. How would you describe the tone of the letter? Refer to the document in your answer? (Doc H) 3. According to the map of the events in Dublin in June-July 1922, where was anti-Treaty IRA man Leo Henderson arrested on 26 June? (Doc I) 4. On 1 July, what two IRA positions in Lower Gardiner Street were attacked by the National Army? (Doc I) 5. According to *Poblacht na hÉireann* where were the members of the Four Courts garrison taken after the surrender? (Doc J) 6. How did Joseph McKelvey respond when the prisoners were not given prisoner-of-war status? (Doc J) 7. What information does *Poblacht na hÉireann* provide to (a) challenge newspaper reports about the surrender (b) demonstrate optimism and confidence (c) justify their fight against the Free State? (b) -----8. According to the map, how many days elapsed between the IRA's occupation of buildings in O'Connell Street and their surrender to the National Army? (Doc K) 9. Where was Cathal Brugha shot on 5 July? (Doc K) Atlas of the Trish Revolution Resources for Schools p. 34

10. Based on the map, do you think the IRA might have held out for longer before surrendering? (Doc K)

11. According to Art O'Connor's statement to the Irish Independent, what notable anti-Treaty figures managed to escape the Block before the surrender? (Doc L) 12. In what ways, according to Document K, did the Battle of Dublin affect the citizens of the city? 13. How would you describe the writing style of the Irish Independent journalist? Refer to Document L in your answer. 14. What are the strengths and weaknesses of Document L as a historical source? Strengths-----Weaknesses-----Your Task 

- 1. Your teacher will organise the class into pairs.
- 2. Using the information in Documents A-M in this worksheet and your own research, complete the 'Causes of the Irish Civil War' informative poster in this pack.